



# AMERICAN OBSERVER

News and Issues—With Pros and Cons

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## Nation Studying Relief Problem

How Can Present System Best Be Improved?

"I've come to feel that we have been just drifting in the field of welfare. People in and out of state and federal legislatures are increasingly annoyed with welfare problems. Are we on the right track...? Or are we—through lack of imagination—just continuing, year after year, to patch up programs created 25 years ago?" — Abraham Ribicoff, U. S. Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare

IN the foregoing statement, Mr. Ribicoff was referring particularly to public relief for the needy—a subject that has received much attention in recent months. More and more frequently, newspaper editorials and magazine articles assert that "chiselers" and "loafers" are overburdening the relief rolls all across our land. Moreover, it is charged, federal regulations make it difficult for state and local officials to prevent waste and misuse of funds.

Early this month, *Look* magazine referred to "an almost visible wave of resentment . . . against the rackets and abuses that plague the vast, ever-growing American welfare programs."

Various groups, including the

(Concluded on page 3)



GENERAL CEMAL GURSEL, who is now Turkey's President. At right is the flag of that nation.



## Are Turkish Troubles Now Over?

New Regime Raises Hopes—But Problems Remain

Of all the members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), none is more in the front lines of the cold war than Turkey, bordering on the Soviet Union. Turkey's current attempts to achieve strength and stability are of the highest concern to American officials.

Scene 1. A small village in southern Turkey.

While talking to an American over recent events in Turkey, a former local official suddenly bursts out: "We will never forget what they did to Menderes. Never! The day will come when. . ."

His voice trails away, and he

shakes his head grimly. "I have talked too much," he concludes.

Scene 2. An apartment in Istanbul, Turkey's largest city.

In conversation with the same American, a Turkish businessman declares fervently: "Menderes was leading the country to ruin. He received a fair trial—and the punishment he received was just."

He reflects briefly. "Things will be different now," he says in a quiet tone. "Turkey is on the right path once more."

The shadow of the late Adnan Menderes is likely to hang over Turkey for a long time. Two months ago, this former Prime Minister was executed along with 2 members of his cabinet. Charged with violating the constitution, Menderes and his colleagues were found guilty by a high court, and were hanged.

Since that time, a nation-wide election has taken place, and a new government is now in the process of being set up. But serious questions remain.

Is Turkey now on the democratic path? Or does a military dictatorship lie ahead? Have the recent trials paved the way for stability? Or have they sown the seeds for civil strife?

**Rugged land.** Turkey lies on 2 continents—Europe and Asia. Its total area of 300,000 square miles makes it a bit larger than Wyoming, Utah, and Colorado combined.

About 96% of Turkey is in Asia. Known as Anatolia, Asian Turkey occupies a dry, craggy plateau with high mountains in the east. The tallest peak is Mt. Ararat, where, according to the Bible, Noah's ark came to rest after the flood.

European Turkey—called Thrace—covers a small region of rolling plains and stony coast line. Istanbul

(formerly Constantinople) lies at the eastern end of Thrace.

The 2 parts of Turkey are separated by what is often referred to as "the Straits," 3 bodies of water that connect the Mediterranean and Black Seas. They are the Dardanelles, the Sea of Marmara, and the Bosphorus.

Turkey shares 367 miles of common border with the Soviet Union, and has a common frontier with Bulgaria—a Russian puppet country—for 124 miles. On the north, Turkey is separated from Russia only by the Black Sea.

**Making a living.** About 4 out of 5 of Turkey's 27,803,000 people make a living from the land. Principal crops include wheat, tobacco, cotton, sugar beets, figs, grapes, and nuts.

Animal raising is also important. The Angora goat, whose coat is used for mohair, is widely raised. Its name is derived from the former spelling of Ankara, Turkey's capital.

Over the past dozen years, many factories have been built. They refine sugar, pack other foods, turn out textiles, chemicals, shoes, and cement. The iron and steel industry is growing. Turkey is among the world's biggest producers of chromium, and also has copper, iron, coal, and petroleum.

Yet Turkey's living standards are low. Annual per capita income is not much more than \$150 a year—lower than in any other NATO country. Though on the upswing, its educational standards are also lower than those of other NATO lands. More than half of the Turks are unable to read or write.

**The Ataturk era.** One reason for lagging living standards is Turkey's late start toward becoming a modern nation. The present type of government dates only from

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CAN THEY keep it from getting bigger and bigger?

## YOUR LANGUAGE

**H**OW to form the plural and possessive of a compound word is frequently a puzzling question. Here are a few examples that may help to clear this point for you.

**Plural:** Brothers-in-law means 2 or more men in this relationship.

**Possessive:** Brother-in-law's car means the car of 1 brother-in-law.

**Plural possessive:** Brothers-in-law's cars means the cars of 2 or more brothers-in-law. However, a different wording probably sounds less awkward in this and similar cases. Say: The cars of my brothers-in-law are blocking the driveway. Other examples include:

### Plurals

notaries public  
attorneys at law  
brigadier generals  
courts-martial  
passers-by  
commanders in chief

### Singular Possessives

notary public's (seal)  
attorney at law's (office)  
brigadier general's (aide)  
court-martial's (decision)  
commander in chief's  
(responsibility)

**Rule:** If the compound is 2 separate words or is hyphenated, the main person or thing in the word group takes the plural form, regardless of its position in the sequence. However, the possessive form is always taken by the last word.

**Note:** If a compound has become one word through long usage, the plural is always formed at the end.

### Examples

cupfuls spoonfuls handfuls

—By ANNE WILLIAMS

## SMILES

Anyone who thinks the younger generation isn't creative should watch a teen-ager build a sandwich.

★

Dearest, I want you to marry me.  
But have you seen Father?  
Many times. But I love you just the same.

★

Then there was the luncheon orator who stood before his audience and said: "Before I start my speech, I would like to say something."

★

The druggist examined the doctor's prescription a teen-age miss handed him and asked, "Wait?"

The miss looked a bit bewildered, but stepped on a scale next to the counter. Dropping in a penny, she announced to the surprised pharmacist, "112."



"Hello... Canine Training School?  
I want a refund."



NIKOLAI LENIN, leader of the successful Red revolution in Russia over 40 years ago, tells a crowd about his ideas for the communist nation

## Communism in Russia

### Bolsheviks Seize Property

*This is the tenth in a series of articles on communism, democracy, and other political and economic systems.*

**O**NE of the first acts of the Bolsheviks, after gaining power in Russia through the 1917 Revolution, was to abolish private ownership of farms and business enterprises. Government seizures of private property were being made even when the Reds were still fighting their opponents at home in the civil war that did not end until 1921. (Poland, at this time, was also fighting the Bolsheviks, largely because of a boundary dispute with the Soviets.)

The Bolshevik seizures of land and industries brought the production of food and factory goods almost to a standstill. When former owners were deprived of their properties, there were no experienced persons available to run them.

Red dictator Nikolai Lenin tried to force the trained ex-owners to manage the government enterprises. However, some of the former property owners had been brutally slain by Red revolutionaries, and not many of the others were willing to run farms or factories taken from them by the Soviet regime.

Peasants, fearing that Lenin's government would take away all their food and livestock, hid what they could and made little effort to grow more than was needed to keep themselves alive. As food became more and more scarce, bands of Bolsheviks roamed the countryside, seizing all the crops and livestock they could find.

Life in Russia became a struggle for survival, and a constant effort to stay out of the clutches of the dreaded secret police, called Chekka. Chekka agents were everywhere, hunting down persons suspected of opposing Red rule or of hiding food and other goods from the government. The secret police had authority to order the jailing or execution of anyone ac-

cused of such "counter-revolutionary" activities.

All in all, the early years of life under the Reds were extremely difficult ones for the Russian people. Hunger and disease were widespread. So was fear of the dreaded Chekka.

A British woman who lived in Russia at the time—and who to this day remains anonymous—had this to say about life there:

"A death-like pall hung over the village. Chekka agents and young ruffians roamed the streets at will, looting and taking anything of value they could find. So desperate was the shortage of fuel that houses were broken up for the sake of the wood."

It was around this time (1921-1922) that the United States sent large quantities of food to Russia. The food shipments, supervised by Herbert Hoover who became U. S. President in 1929, are credited with saving several millions of Russians from starvation. Though Mr. Hoover despised the Soviet system of government and recognized its threat to the world, he directed the distribution of food because of his feeling of pity for the Russian people.

Meanwhile, dictator Lenin backedtracked from his earlier policies of putting all farm and business enterprises under state control. In 1921, he found it necessary to return some properties to private ownership to encourage the production of food and goods. The change was called New Economic Policy, or NEP.

Under NEP, Russia's economy quickly staggered back to its feet. Soon there were numerous prosperous individual farm owners, called Kulaks. Small private businesses also sprang up rapidly, though large industries continued to be owned and supervised by the Soviet regime.

Lenin insisted that NEP was a "temporary" measure needed to "save the Revolution." It was, he said, a small step backward from communism to enable Russia to

take giant steps forward later on.

When Lenin died in 1924, NEP was continued for a few years while Joseph Stalin and certain other Soviet leaders were locked in a struggle for power. But soon after Stalin became the undisputed dictator of Russia in 1928, NEP was scrapped in favor of new ruthless drives for state ownership of all properties, and a series of 5-year economic development plans.

(Next week we shall continue our discussion of the government-controlled economic system of the Soviet Union.)

—By ANTON BERLE

## SPORTS HEADLINERS

**ROMAN GABRIEL**, quarterback of the North Carolina State College football team is a strong candidate for top national honors on the gridiron this year. An exceptional thrower, he has completed nearly three-fifths of his passes since he became his team's quarterback during his sophomore year. His accurate passing inspired the Wolfpack's fight song, "Throw, Gabriel, Throw."

Roman, who is 6'4" tall and weighs 220 pounds, ran or passed for 15 touchdowns his junior year, and was one of 4 players in major college football to be responsible for over 50% of his team's offense. He is adding to his record-breaking feats this season.

A natural leader, the big fellow, who is of Filipino descent, is captain of his team. In high school at Wilmington, North Carolina, he won practically every top award in football, baseball, and basketball. When the pro teams make their annual selection of college players for 1962, Roman is expected to be an early choice. In his courses, he is a B student.



Roman Gabriel

**SHARON KINGEN**, 17-year-old high school student from McCordsville, Indiana, is U. S. women's trapshooting champion, a title she won some weeks ago at the Grand American Trapshoot in Vandalia, Ohio.

In the regular competition, she broke 96 out of 100 of the flying targets to tie Ann Wiegand of Dubuque, Iowa. Sharon then won the shoot-off, 25 to 24.

The Indiana girl has been trapshooting only about 1½ years, but has had excellent coaching from her father. Long interested in marksmanship, he set up a trapshooting range on the family farm. Since she took up the sport, Sharon has won close to a dozen competitions.

A senior at Mt. Comfort High School, the young champion is active in 4-H work, is a drum major, and plays the trombone, piano, and organ. Her favorite study is English. Next year she plans to attend Ball State Teachers College in Muncie, Indiana, and specialize in business subjects. —By HOWARD SWEET



Sharon Kingen



# Nation Studying Relief Problem

(Concluded from page 1)

American Public Welfare Association, contend that such charges are often incorrect or exaggerated. Says the Association: "Public efforts to deal humanely, practically, and economically with human need are being damaged beyond measure by a flood of misinformation and inaccurate comment."

Despite such differences of approach, nearly everyone agrees that our nation's relief plans do need overhauling in one way or another. Secretary Ribicoff says he will make definite recommendations on the subject soon after Congress meets next January; but, as we go to press, he has given no details as to what his proposals will be.

**The existing system.** Our present relief setup involves all levels of government—federal, state, and local. Before the great depression of the 1930's, federal agencies took practically no part in relief work. Uncle Sam entered the picture during that depression, when many states and communities desperately needed help in caring for the jobless and the impoverished. There were emergency federal efforts to assist the unemployed under Presidents Herbert Hoover and Franklin Roosevelt.

A different type of measure—the far-reaching Social Security Act—was adopted in 1935, during Mr. Roosevelt's first term. It was a permanent measure rather than merely one to combat the depression. Some of its features—though not all—went considerably beyond the idea of ordinary "relief for the poor."

The Old-Age and Survivors Insurance (OASI) system, for example, was intended eventually to furnish retirement incomes for large numbers of people, and thus to keep them from needing public or private charity. The OASI now covers nearly all "gainfully employed" Americans. Under it, employers and workers make regular contributions into a federal fund that later provides retirement benefits for the workers and their dependents.

When a person who is included in the OASI program retires, he is entitled to benefit payments even though he may be comparatively well-to-do. Since the payments come out of a fund that he himself has helped to build, they aren't looked upon as relief or charity.

**Public assistance.** Certain parts of the Social Security Act do deal with outright relief programs, which are often lumped together under the term "public assistance." These are intended only to provide help for people at the bottom of the economic ladder who cannot fully support themselves.

The federal government furnishes part of the money that our states and communities use for aid to the following groups:

- Needy men and women age 65 and over. About 2,300,000 of them are now given direct relief, despite the regular Old-Age and Survivors Insurance program. Some of these people receive very small OASI retirement benefits and need additional help. Also, there are many

who never obtained coverage in the retirement setup. (Several types of jobs now included under OASI were not brought into the program until comparatively recent years.)

- Mothers and children in broken homes where there is no adequate means of support. There are now approximately 3,400,000 recipients. (Until next June, this group also includes children of the unemployed. They were added by one of the temporary measures that Congress adopted to combat last winter's business slump.)

- Persons with low incomes who are blind or "permanently and to-

wardly disabled." Nearly 500,000 receive aid.

higher costs of food, rent, clothing, and other necessities of life.

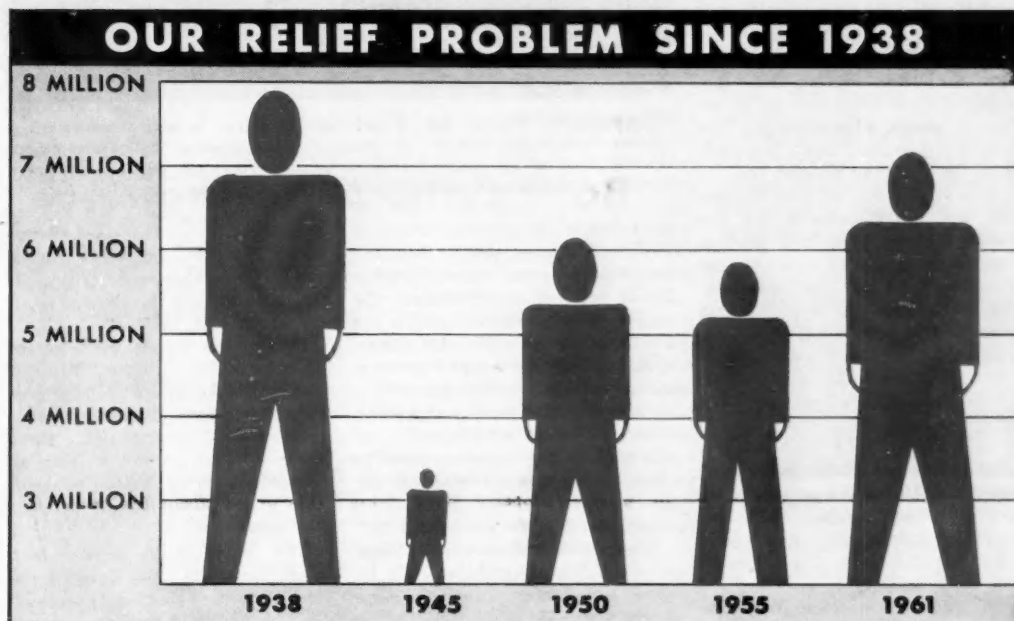
The U. S. social security system includes an unemployment insurance plan which gives regular benefit payments to jobless workers for a period of weeks (varying from state to state). In some cases, though, workers have remained unemployed so long that they have exhausted all rights to such benefits. So, if they receive help, it must be through ordinary relief.

Continuing increases in living expenses have been responsible for part of the rise in relief spending. Governmental agencies have found it necessary to provide more money for relief clients in order to meet

get off the relief rolls. Various other cities report success with similar programs, and welfare experts feel that the idea can and should be used more widely than it is today.

- Possible new steps also involve the form in which relief is distributed. In most of the state and community programs that now receive federal aid, Uncle Sam requires relief payments to be made in cash. But the Wisconsin legislature recently urged Congress to let local officials distribute aid in the form of food, clothing, direct payments to landlords for rent, etc.

Such a step would be intended to keep people from wasting and misusing the assistance they are given. Certain observers oppose the plan, however, on grounds that it



FIGURES AT LEFT serve as guide in finding number of millions of persons on relief during various years

higher costs of food, rent, clothing, and other necessities of life.

Finally, one often hears charges that relief funds are being spent in ever-increasing amounts on families and individuals who show no desire to become self-supporting and who often misuse the money they are given. There is no doubt that the nation's relief rolls do include a number of such people, though welfare authorities disagree among themselves as to the seriousness of this particular problem.

## What are some of the proposed changes in our country's relief setup?

- Health, Education, and Welfare Secretary Ribicoff—who has expressed the fear that we are now "just drifting"—says we must put greater emphasis on helping and encouraging needy families to become self-sufficient. At present, as a local welfare worker in the nation's capital points out, "our relief clients include children whose mothers were also raised on relief. Members of these families know nothing else."

An experimental program in Washington, D. C., this year has given job training to 60 mothers who had been obtaining welfare payments to support their children. As a result, about half of these women already have been able to

wouldn't allow persons on relief sufficient choice as to how their needs are met.

- Many people feel that the U. S. government should, in one way or another, encourage states and localities to furnish jobs on public projects for relief clients who are able to work. Such action, it is argued, would tend to keep able-bodied persons from accepting aid unnecessarily. Certain states and communities now operate "work relief" programs on their own, but the national government doesn't take part in such efforts.

Secretary Ribicoff has endorsed the idea of providing work for able-bodied relief clients, but it is not known whether he will seek any new federal undertaking for this purpose. During the great depression of the 1930's, federal work relief programs were widely criticized as being wasteful and inefficient, and many Americans now believe that projects of this kind should be left wholly in state and local hands.

**In conclusion.** Everyone realizes that there is no quick and easy solution of the problems discussed in this article. But Americans are becoming increasingly interested in finding some way to eliminate unnecessary relief expense—while still making adequate provision for the men, women, and children who need help.

—By TOM MYER

# The Story of the Week

## Moscow Increases Pressure on Finns

National elections in Finland, formerly scheduled for next summer, are now to be held this winter. The balloting date was moved up by Finnish President Urho Kekkonen after he and other top leaders of that country met with Soviet officials not long ago.

Though Finland is a liberty-loving country, it has been trying to steer a neutral course between Russia and the West. The Soviets now appear to have made demands aimed at drawing Finland closer to their side—or, at least, at preventing it from forming closer ties with the western nations. Observers think that President Kekkonen has moved up the election date—because of these demands—in an effort to secure a government that Russia will regard more favorably than she does the present one.

It is widely feared that Moscow will put heavy pressure on the Finns between now and election time to select leaders who advocate firm ties with the Soviet Union. (See November 13 issue of this paper for more on Finnish-Russian relations.)

## Controversy Continues Over General Walker

"It is the expressed decision of higher echelons that I may not provide my fellow soldiers with the degree of information that I consider imperative to their morale and their capacity to survive."

So said Major General Edwin Walker when he resigned from the U. S. Army earlier this month. He thus accused his superiors of keeping him from doing as much as he felt necessary to alert his troops against the dangers of communism.

Top defense officials—including Defense Secretary Robert McNamara—reply that the armed forces have an extensive program to inform our soldiers about the evils of communism, but that General Walker was going beyond the program and seeking to advance his own "partisan concepts."

Because of criticisms from his superiors, General Walker resigned from the Army to conduct his "anti-communist campaign" without military restrictions. Now this case, as well as the overall issue of how far military officers should go in influencing the opinions of their troops on public questions, is being widely debated.

Critics of General Walker say: "Despite his high patriotic motives, General Walker has been doing his country a disservice by telling troops that certain of their top leaders are 'soft on communism' and that Reds have infiltrated our schools, government, and religious groups. He has even accused former President Truman and our UN Ambassador Adlai Stevenson of having 'worked for the Reds.' Such irresponsible charges play into the hands of the communists by dividing and weakening us at home."

The other side argues: "All



IN ALGERIA, Moslem women and children joined in new demonstrations against French rule earlier this month. Riot squads of police and troops were ordered to keep watch against further trouble in all cities. The demonstrations pictured here occurred in Algiers, the capital.

Americans agree that General Walker is a great patriot who has fought well for his country during his 34 years of Army service. He sought to instill patriotism in his troops, and to give them his honest opinions about the world-wide communist conspiracy. For that reason he was criticized by his superiors. Because of their condemnation, he had to leave the Army he loved in order to express his views freely and continue the fight against the communist menace as he sees fit."

Many more arguments on both sides of this controversy will be aired as members of the Senate Armed Services Committee move ahead with hearings on the issue.

## India's Nehru Speaks Out on World Issues

The United States and India are good friends and agree on a number of global topics. But at times

Americans have felt that Prime Minister Nehru and other Indian leaders have been more critical of this country and its allies than of the communist nations.

During his recent visit to the United States, Prime Minister Nehru cleared up some past misunderstandings between his country and the United States. In so doing, he came closer than ever before to supporting some of our policies in the bitter contest between East and West.

The Indian leader agreed with us, for instance, that Russia's nuclear tests "are completely wrong." He also admitted that the world's "neutral" lands have not "shown enough indignation" against Soviet nuclear blasts and against Moscow's "domination of Eastern Europe." He supported the right of these European lands to be free of Russian control.

Mr. Nehru pointed out that the

apparent lack of enthusiasm among some neutral nations for a firm stand against various Russian "misdeeds" is partly due to the fact that these countries are "full of their own problems." Many such lands, he added, have just recently won their independence—or are still struggling for full freedom; so to them "western colonialism," rather than the threat of communism, continues to be the major concern.

On various points, Prime Minister Nehru still differs with U. S. leaders. For instance, American officials insist that we won't make any agreements to ban nuclear testing unless there are foolproof arrangements for inspection to see that all nations are keeping their word. Mr. Nehru, however, indicates that we should be willing to halt nuclear tests regardless of whether an inspection system is provided.

## What Road Lies Ahead For Troubled Ecuador?

The recent revolt in Ecuador is a dramatic reminder that it won't be easy for Uncle Sam to put his "Alliance for Progress" into operation in Latin America. It was partly because of tax reforms that an uprising forced President José Velasco Ibarra out of power earlier this month. Nations are expected to make such reforms in order to receive Alliance for Progress aid.

The revolt took place when Mr. Velasco Ibarra sought to increase government revenues by taxing sales of consumer goods as well as the earnings of wealthy Ecuadorians. Another President, Carlos Arosemena Monroy, was installed with help from the nation's air force.

Mr. Arosemena Monroy has been accused of advocating policies similar to those of Cuba's pro-Red Pre-



IT'S TOUGH GOING for this U. S. Greyhound bus as it edges around one of many hairpin turns in Switzerland's St. Gotthard Pass over the Alps. The 40-foot-long bus is perhaps largest vehicle to follow this route. It's been touring Europe in campaign to get more Europeans to make tourist trips to the United States.





MAMA ARUSHA at Washington, D. C., with son Herman, a 90-pounder. Although Herman is a popular hippopotamus, he probably will be sold soon. The capital's zoo thinks he's too expensive to feed.

mier Fidel Castro. Although the new leader denies these charges, he says he will accept aid from any land—including Russia.

### A Great American Who Will Be Missed

When Sam Rayburn was a 12-year-old boy, listening to a political speech, he vowed that he would one day be Speaker of the U. S. House of Representatives. "Mr. Sam," as he became affectionately known by people everywhere, not only fulfilled his ambition to become Speaker but held that important post longer than anyone else in history.

Before he passed away earlier in the month, Mr. Rayburn had rounded out 48 years of service in the U. S. House of Representatives. The Texas Democrat, who turned 79 last January, had presided over the House as Speaker most of the time since 1940.

News of Mr. Rayburn's death saddened all Americans—Democrats and Republicans alike—for the Texan had won a multitude of friends throughout the years by being fair and honest with everyone. He set a high standard for any lawmaker who follows in his footsteps as Speaker.

### News From the Congo Takes Turn for Worse

The Congo continues to be one of the United Nations' big problems. UN forces there have been trying for some time to help the national government of Premier Cyrille Adoula unify the strife-torn land. Until recently, the chief stumbling block to a united Congo was President Moise Tshombe's secessionist Katanga Province.

A short time ago, however, a new threat to the Congo came from that land's Vice Premier, Antoine Gizenga—who is regarded as a pro-Red. A number of Mr. Gizenga's supporters have turned against Premier Adoula in an effort to set up a government headed by their

leader. The UN has decided to help put down this threat to the Congo, just as it continues to seek to end the Katanga rebellion.

The murder of 13 UN Italian troops by pro-Gizenga forces has stiffened the world body's determination to bring law and order to the Congo.

### New Task for Former President Eisenhower

Ex-President Eisenhower is adding a new job to his already busy schedule of writing articles, making speeches, appearing on TV programs, and running his farm in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. At President Kennedy's request, he has agreed to head our nation's People-to-People program.

Mr. Eisenhower helped launch the People-to-People idea in 1956. Under it, private Americans arrange for a variety of international exchanges of visits by individuals and groups to foster good will.

### Main Articles in Next Week's Issue

Unless unforeseen developments arise, the main articles next week will deal with (1) record of the Peace Corps, and (2) European Common Market.



ECUADOR is once again upset by serious political troubles

## Columnist and Legislator

### Change Views on the UN

Columnist George Sokolsky was opposed to the UN when it began in 1945. On the other hand, Senator William Fulbright sponsored one of the early congressional resolutions calling for the formation of a world organization. He has long been considered one of its firm supporters. Yet now each man seems to reconsider his former position—Mr. Sokolsky pointing to the values of the UN and Senator Fulbright stressing its limitations.

Here in summary and quotation are recent opinions of these two men:

#### Mr. Sokolsky

"TAKING the situation as of 1961, the existence of the United Nations is of tremendous importance to the United States." . . . The reason "is that we need a forum where our representatives can speak directly to the world. President Kennedy's recent speech before the United Nations did more to clear the atmosphere than miles of propaganda releases could do. He defeated Soviet Russia in Africa with one speech."

[The President contrasted Russia's increasing colonialism or domination of her satellites with the Western Allies' rapid release of their colonial holdings.]

"This will not happen every time. We face a very tough period in our history and we are likely to fail as often as we succeed, but our chances will be better if the instruments available are beneficial to us. . . .

"It is a tragedy of history that the one nation which has consistently held to the doctrine of self-determination throughout its history, the United States, should be regarded as pro-colonial. This is so because our principal allies have been and are the great colonial countries.

"On the other hand, Soviet Russia, which has pursued a policy of expansion, is universally regarded as anti-colonial. This paradox is the result not of Soviet propaganda, which could not have accomplished so much, but rather of more than a century of antagonism between the colored and the white peoples of the West. . . .

"In the United Nations, the newer countries, many of which have been freed by American assistance, can, by experience, learn the truth. Most of the new countries are not prepared for self-government and have no economic basis for stability. It will take them a long time to discover what their position in the world really is and that they cannot stand on their own.

"However, as long as the United Nations continues to exist and we are in it, these newer countries cannot be gobbled up by the great powers.

"The Congo would have been gobbled up by now were it not for the existence of the United Nations. The alternative would have been a

war to prevent Soviet Russia from absorbing the Congo as it has absorbed Cuba. Any war, at this moment, can be nuclear involving all countries. As long as the United Nations exists, an agency is available to offset, delay, avert such a war which seems otherwise inevitable. . . .

"The proof of the value of the United Nations is that Soviet Russia is seeking to destroy it." \*

#### Senator Fulbright

The UN should remain as a "symbol of our aspirations" for a world governed by justice and law. But U. S. attitudes and foreign policy should be adjusted to the limitations of the UN, notably its inability to force a major power to provide democratic freedom and process against its will.

"The history of the United Nations has been in large measure a history of retreat from false hopes and of adjustment to the reality of a divided world."



Sokolsky



Fulbright

Therefore, the United States should form a true community of free nations with European and other non-communist countries that share a common belief in democracy. As they have worked together to defeat totalitarian enemies in times of war, so the democratic nations must now unite to defeat communism. By real political, military, and economic cooperation, they can prove the value of democracy by their achievements.

Perhaps slowly by example, democratic nations can teach others the value of freedom. Then only can an effective world organization exist. Till that future time, free nations must prize their way of life enough to cooperate more closely for its preservation and extension.

"Freedom is not its own defense. Its survival in this century will require the construction of a new community of unified effort and shared responsibility. In the words of the Spanish philosopher Salvador de Madariga:

"The trouble today is that the Communist world understands unity but not liberty, while the free world understands liberty but not unity."

If the free nations can combine both liberty and unity, they have a good chance of achieving eventual victory. Otherwise, their prospects are not bright.

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IN ELECTIONS, Turkish people failed to give majority to any one party. As a result, National Assembly chose General Gursel President.



TURKS control waterways connecting Black and Mediterranean Seas



ACROBATICS are popular among the Turks, who are noted for their toughness. Those shown at left are participating in one of country's frequent outdoor athletic meets. The woman above, in modern dress, is typical of many in cities and towns. A number of women in Turkey and other lands where most people are Moslems still wear robes and veils, but fewer and fewer are doing so.

## More Trouble for Turkey?

(Continued from page 1)

1923 when Mustafa Kemal—later called Kemal Ataturk—started to make sweeping changes. He modeled his country after the western nations, following centuries of stern rule by sultans of the old Ottoman Empire.

In 1923 Turkey became a republic, and Ataturk became its first president. He did away with the veil which Turkish women had long been forced to wear in public, and introduced a new alphabet to make reading and writing easier. He planned new buildings, had factories started, and set up banks to help agriculture and industry.

Although Ataturk wanted his country to be a modern nation, he ruled as a dictator. Opposition was discouraged or forbidden. A single political group—the Republican People's Party—dominated the government.

Within the country, though, democratic influences were becoming stronger. After World War II, the 2-party system was tried out. In 1950, another party—the Democrats—won for the first time.

**Menderes regime.** In 1950, Celal Bayar became President. His position was largely that of a figure-head—without real power. Prime Minister Adnan Menderes became the government's principal figure.

Menderes set forth on ambitious industrial and farm-development programs. He plunged into the building of dams, irrigation systems, and highways. He planned new public buildings and factories.

It is generally agreed today that Menderes tried to make progress too fast. Machinery and other items needed in the construction projects were purchased abroad.

To acquire the money to buy foreign equipment, Turkey depended on the overseas sale of cotton, chromium, tobacco, and other products. But foreign sales lagged far behind purchases, and the government went deeply in debt. At the same time, rising prices for food and other products inside Turkey caused widespread distress.

When political opposition arose, Menderes tried to suppress it. He took control of the press and jailed many editors and writers for criticizing the government. Political activity by parties other than the Democrats was sharply restricted. Students who led demonstrations against the government were thrown in prison.

**Military stroke.** With resentment of Menderes' regime at a high pitch, the army, under the leadership of General Cemal Gursel, struck suddenly in May 1960. President Bayar, Prime Minister Menderes with his cabinet, and more than 500 others (including all Democrats in parliament) were arrested. The Democratic Party was dissolved.

General Gursel became Prime Minister, but it was clear that he was only one member of a *junta* (committee) of army men, varying in number from 25 to 40, that was making decisions. It was announced that free elections would be held and civilian government established as soon as possible.

Meanwhile, Bayar, Menderes, and several hundred others went on trial, charged with "acts against the constitution." Specifically, the charges included treason, unlawfully suppressing political opposition, and causing the death of people involved in anti-government demonstrations.

More than 600 persons went on trial, and 464 were found guilty. Most received imprisonment for varying periods of time, but 3—Mr. Menderes and 2 members of his cabinet—were sentenced to death. Former President Bayar received a sentence of life imprisonment.

**Aftermath of trials.** The judicial proceedings have created a problem for Turkey's leaders, because the trials produced much bitterness.

Menderes was highly popular with the farm people, whose lot he had tried to better. They felt that the death penalty was unjustified. Most of them have enrolled in one or another of the new parties that have sprung into existence in opposition to the Republicans.

The majority of city people had been highly critical of Menderes, but they were divided over the justice of the sentence he received. Some pointed out that his acts had the backing of the legislature, and declared that Menderes should have received a prison sentence just as Bayar and many of the lawmakers did. Others, though, approved the death penalty for the former Prime Minister on the ground that he held the final responsibility for illegal acts committed by his regime.

**New government.** Last month, the nation-wide elections that had been promised took place. The outcome reflected the divisions that have split Turkey. The votes were divided among 4 parties, with none having a majority.

Under pressure from military leaders, a coalition government was then formed with General Cemal Gursel as President. As these words are written, a Prime Minister has not yet been appointed.

Whether Turkey will now have a stable, democratic government remains to be determined. The military group that has played such a prominent role in Turkey during

### NOTEBOOK CHARTS

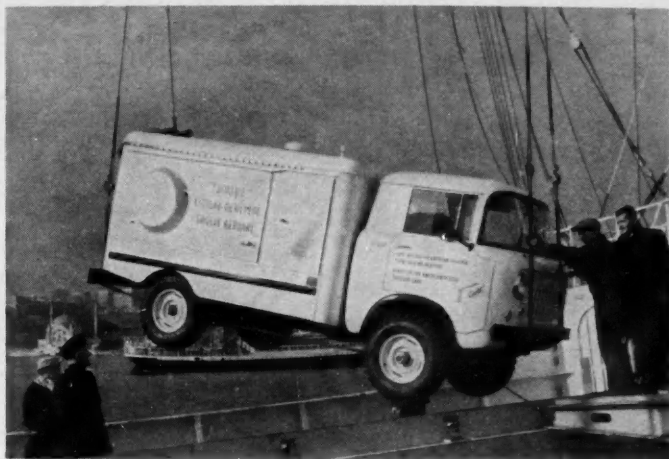
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**MEDICAL TRUCK**, supplied by the U. S. aid agency CARE, is unloaded at a Turkish port. Turks use it to fight disease in country areas.



**IN ISTANBUL**, this Hilton Hotel looks out from European Turkey across the Bosphorus toward Asian part of the country in the distance



**KEMAL ATATURK** (left) founder of Turkish republic in 1923, and recent Premier **Adnan Menderes**, who was executed for "unlawful acts"

the past 2 years seems genuinely committed to democratic rule, but it will take time for the nation once more to regain a feeling of unity.

**Economic problems.** In the meantime, urgent economic problems demand solution. Because of uncertainty about the future, business has been at a standstill for months. Construction and factory output are down, and unemployment is up. Turkish shops are full of high-priced goods, but there are few buyers.

The nation needs to step up its sales of farm products abroad. This may be difficult, for much of Turkey's farm land is worn out and badly needs fertilizer and irrigation. Formerly an exporter of wheat, the nation today does not supply enough for its own use.

The first big test of the new government may be whether or not it can stimulate the economy.

**Alliance with West.** The present government, like the previous one, is firmly committed to the western alliance. The Turks make no bones about their dislike of the

Soviet Union. In the last 300 years, Turkey has fought 12 wars with Russia.

Right after World War II, another conflict loomed. Threatening moves by Moscow at that time caused the United States to grant Turkey—as well as Greece—military and economic aid. The program, initiated by President Harry Truman and sometimes referred to as the Truman Doctrine, is widely credited with having kept these countries in the free world.

After the North Atlantic Treaty Organization was formed to protect its members against communist aggression, Turkey became the easternmost member of this group. Today U. S. forces man a missile base and radar station in Turkey.

That country also belongs to the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO), set up in its present form in 1959 to keep peace in the Middle East. Besides Turkey, members are Great Britain, Iran, and Pakistan. The United States co-operates closely with the group.

Nearly 2 billion dollars of U. S. funds have helped to build up free-world military strength in Turkey since 1947. The American-equipped Turkish army is the largest overseas force tied to NATO.

In addition, more than 1 billion dollars of American money have gone to help Turkey strengthen its economy. Further U. S. aid will probably be extended in coming months. If that nation cannot establish a sound economy, its military capabilities will be weakened.

—By HOWARD SWEET

## Yesterday and Today

### Jackson and Democracy

THE United States was born of revolution against rule by a British monarchy that lay across the Atlantic Ocean in Europe. With independence won, and after a brief period under the Articles of Confederation, a republican form of government was established.

Within this new republic, there was a great deal of freedom. There were also some limitations. A number of the founders of the new nation felt that only wise and experienced individuals should exercise power. Consequently, the privilege of voting was often given only to men who owned property, who could meet certain educational requirements, or who could provide other qualifications.

By the 1820's, this viewpoint was changing. Settlers moving westward were establishing their own community governments, and voting rights were being broadened so that workmen as well as men of property could have a hand in choosing their leaders.

#### Second Revolution

This period is sometimes referred to as the *second American revolution*, for it brought alterations of great importance in the election process. The idea of rule by a majority of all the people, rather than by limited groups, began to take hold.

It was in this era that Andrew Jackson made his way to the Presidency for 2 terms (1829-1837). Already admired as an heroic general, he won elections by appealing to the masses of the people who then could vote. His campaigns were quite similar to those that we have today, in that Mr. Jackson openly sought votes to show that he was "the people's choice."

President Jackson's Administration has been both criticized and praised by many students of history. Yet scholars generally do agree that he is looked upon as a symbol of maximum democracy.

Nevertheless, limitations on democracy remained during his lifetime, although there were fewer of these in some states than in others. New changes of major importance did not come about until after the Civil War.

The 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments to the Constitution, adopted

between 1865 and 1870, ended slavery, made Negroes free citizens, and opened the way for male Negroes to vote.

The 17th Amendment, adopted in 1913, provided that the people should vote directly for senators. Before that time, the 2 senators for each state had been chosen by state legislatures.

All women citizens gained the right to the ballot under the 19th Amendment, adopted in 1920, although several states allowed them to vote before that date.

Some restrictions remain. All states require that a voter must live in a state for a certain period of time to qualify for voting rights. A few require that a voter must be able to read and write. Several also impose a poll tax of \$1 to \$2. Nevertheless, most Americans of voting age may participate in elections today, and the number continues to increase.

One of the big problems now, however, is that many millions of citizens who are qualified to help choose the nation's leaders *do not* go to the polls. In the 1960 Presidential elections, there was a record turnout of 64.3% of citizens of voting age. But 35.7% did not take part, although the large majority of them were eligible to do so.

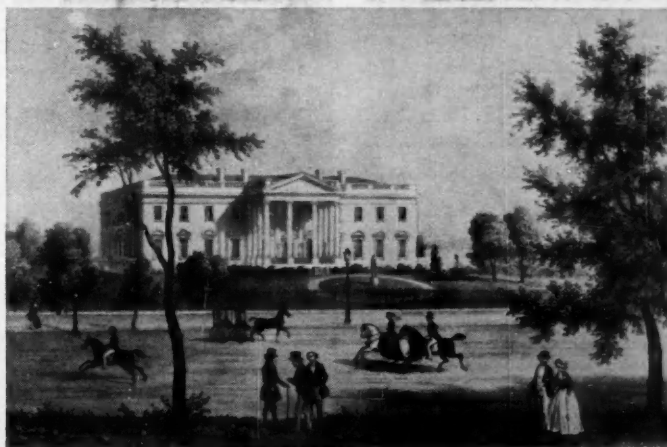
#### Progress Being Made

Various patriotic groups regularly work to inform the electorate on issues and candidates, and urge everyone to vote. Such organizations may be making progress, for the turnout in 1960 was nearly 4% higher than in the 1956 election—13% higher than in 1948.

Nevertheless, the U. S. voting record today is far behind that in certain other democracies. In Sweden, Britain, and Italy, for example, between 80% and 90% of registered citizens go to the polls.

In this free nation, at a time when we face great dangers from communism, it is up to all citizens to take a hand in running their government—to study problems before us, listen to the views of candidates, decide which ones we prefer, and then go to the polls and vote. Uninformed and lazy citizens may not realize it, but they are assisting the communists.

—By TOM HAWKINS



**THE WHITE HOUSE** at about time of Andrew Jackson Administration

- Adnan Menderes—ăd'năn mên'dêr-êz  
Antoine Gizenga—ăn'twân gi-zên'gâ  
Carlos Arosemena Monroy—kâr'lôs  
ă-rô'sê-mă'nă môn-roy'  
Celal Bayar—jâ-lâl' bî-âr'  
Cemal Gursel—juh-mâl' gur-sêl'  
Cyrille Adoula—sir'îl â-dôô'lâ  
José Velasco Ibarra—hô-zâ' vê-lâ'skôs  
î-bâ'râ  
Kemal Ataturk—kê-mâl' â-tâ-tôor'k  
Moses Tshombe—mô-êz' tsawm-bâ'



